A REVIEW OF THE STATE OF THE BRITISH NATION.

Tuesday, March 29. 1709.

I Made an Essay in my last on this Subject, at the Terms of a Peace; and that I might the better Open my Eyes to all Europe seems to be more particularly bent than ever to this Time than usually I think it may not be amiss to go on with it here, whether it goes on or not;

The *French*, we are told, have made Overtures of Peace; whether they are such as the Confederates think a sufficient Ground of a Treaty, does not yet appear, it rather looks as if they were not. And if not, then either the *French* Offers are very ill represented to us, or the *French* must be infatuated to a strange Degree.

If what we have seen, and what we have heard be true; nay, I may say, if what we have heard be true, the *French* are distressed, that they do not offer what we could not in Reason refuse; if they have suffer'd their Soldiers to starve, and their Officers to be naked and miserable this severe Winter; if they have left a Mutinous and Famish'd in their Garrisons, for Want of Pay; the Troops; if they are fain to borrow Money of the Frontier Towns to keep the Soldiers to their Duty; if on their Musters, their Captains are allow'd to be Men at the Head of their Company, and 75 to 80 Men are the Number of the Foot to a Company; if the Horse are dismounted, and the Peasants of the *Pais Conquis* furnish Horses instead of Taxes, to mount the Dragoons; if their Recruits are raw, starv'd, and half-grown Youths; if their Bankers are broke, and the publick Bills at 50 to 60 *l.* per Cent. Discount;

Discount; if their Councils are divided, and their Generals at Variance one with another——— In short, if they are in a general Want of both Men and Money, and the Men they have will not fight——On the contrary, if our Army is larger, and in better Condition than ever, our Augmentations ready and made up of old Troops, and all our Auxiliaries drawing together—*If these Things are so*, and really there seems to be a Face of Truth upon every Part of it, tho' perhaps common Fame according to common Practice may enlarge Things in Degree——What Spirit of Infatuation possesses the *French* Court, that they do not yield to an Honourable Peace, that they do not offer what they know we will accept; for they know well enough what the Confederates will be content with, and what they will not be content without.

I know it may be objected, that the *French*, not making such Offers as they know the Confederates cannot make Peace without, is a Token they are not in so ill a Condition as we suggest—And if the *French* had not more than once been infatuated in this War, this might be true——What they flatter themselves with, I know not; but if their Men behave no better this Year than they did last, of which I see very little Probability—. Sure nothing can hinder the Confederate Army from ruining their Affairs in one Campaign more——And if we enter *France* in full March, they must fight us in the Field, or come upon their Knees, and beg what Peace we please to bestow.

From these Reasons I cannot but note, that I think, all the vast Preparations of the *French*, and the good Face they put upon their Affairs in *Flanders*, is only an Outside, and that they will offer you a compleat Peace, when they come to the Point——I see but one thing they have for it, besides this Offer, that can relieve them, and that is, some very brisk Attempt in the first of the Campaign on the Side of *Alsace*——Had they a pushing General on that side, and but 35000 Men to take the Field by the Middle of *April*, they might indeed penetrate far into the Empire, and perhaps keep back the Troops of *Hesse*, *Saxony*, *Wirtemberg*, &c. But this, tho' it would raise their Spirits a little, would not retrieve their Affairs; *Lisle* is too near *Paris* to let them be easie; if they are heartily push'd at home, all their remoter Successes must fall and come to nothing.

And what is the Peace we will accept now if they offer it?——For this is the main Question——The whole *Spanish* Monarchy, says the Parliament, or if I may put it into Words, the Treaty of the *Pyrenees*——When the Treaty of *Nimeguen* was begun, it held a long Debate, whether it should be founded on the Treaty of the *Pyrenees*, or of *Aix la Chapelle*——And the *French* once offer'd the First, with the Exception of *Burgundy* and *Franche Comte*. But some time after Successes rais'd them to refuse that Offer, and at last they had all the *Pais Conquis* conceded to them, as may be seen by that Treaty—Which tho' call'd the Treaty of *Nimeguen* abroad, was in Burlesque call'd the *Petticoat-Peace*, as being clap'd up in *Portsmouth*'s Closet, if *Andrew Marvel* is to be believ'd, and Sir *William Temple* almost acknowledg'd it.

I think, if ever the Confederates had an Opportunity to retrieve all the disadvantagious Treaties of those Times, to unravel all the Court Frauds, which by *French* Money, *French* Whores, and *French* Councils were transacted here in those Times; by which all the Princes of *Europe* were aw'd and manag'd, and which indeed help'd to raise the *French* Greatness to the Pitch it has since been at, IT IS NOW——All the Chicanry of that *Partition-Treaty*, all the *French* Shams and Devolutions, Right by which he seiz'd *Burgundy*, and *Flanders*, Conquest and *Luxemburgh*, after he had by Oath relinquish'd all Manner of Claim to the Succession of any Part of *Spain*, at his Marriage; in short, all the Advantages of all Treaties, wherein he has been often too hard for us, and all the Advantages of a Series of 40 Years Successes, may be now unravelled and retriev'd—And therefore if the *French* are not beaten into a Temper to submit to such a Peace as *Europe* wants, we must fight them till they are—And we must have some Disappointment this Summer, which no Body expects, if one Campaign more does not bring them to it.

I laid down a Scheme of Preliminaries, upon which, I think, we ought to have a Peace, and which if the *French* would comply with, I doubt not a Peace would be soon made up——— I did say, rather than not treat at all, and rather than more Blood and Money should be expended, I should plead for some Abatements —But pray, Gentlemen, do not mistake the Word, I am for abating nothing of the *Spanish Monarchy*— What I shall enter upon, amounts to only stating the Term, the *Spanish Monarchy*, that we may understand one another when we speak of it; whether it shall be understood of the *Spanish Monarchy*, as it was at the Beginning of this War, or as it was at the Treaty of the *Pyrenees*, for I think the Word is left indefinite, as we now talk of it, and yet in the Parliament's Address.

If the first of these be understood, I confess, I am not so fond of the Peace, as I am the Way I propose it. If you will understand the latter of them, and *France* yield the main Article, I would abate any remote inconsiderable Thing, rather than not make a Peace; since the Monarchy of *Spain* so reduc'd would restore *Burgundy*, *Franche Comte*, and the Provinces of *Artois*, *Hainault*, and *French Flanders* commonly call'd *Les Pays Conquis*; and it is so absolutely necessary to have these, that I think no safe Peace can be made without them——— The Peace must be so establish'd as that we may leave no Room for another War. We have gone thro this far beyond what our Enemy, or indeed we our selves ever thought us able to do——— But we shall not leave our Posterity so able to embark in another War, as we were when we began this——Therefore this Peace must be Safe as well as Honourable; indeed if it is not Safe, it is not Honourable.

It seems to me therefore absolutely necessary, that the *French* be effectually unharbour'd in *Flanders*, he should not have one Inch of Ground to set his Tyrannical Feet on in the *Spanish Netherlands*——— And if there is any Difficulty to *beat* him out, or to *treat* him out, yet it must be done one way or other; for while he has Possession of so many Strengths there, he will be always a Terror to the Confederates, and will always have Power enough left to attack the weak Barrier towards *Germany*——— But if these Places are rent from his Talons will be clipp'd, his Nails par'd, and his Neighbours safe.

This makes the Parliament's Address to the QUEEN for the demolishing the Fortifications of *Dunkirk*, very just, for Towns of such Strength are unsupportable Yokes upon the Necks of Neighbours, and this War must leave no such Advantages in the Enemy's Hand———

We are to consider, that when the War is over with us, we always disarm and disband, we have no Tyrants, and consequently keep up no Force of Tyranny, no Terror of Subjects, and Bridles to Liberty——— *French* Government is quite *another thing*; he reigns by what some call Divine Right, *Anglice*, the *Sword*, and he will always have his Armies ready; and therefore it is absolutely necessary, not only to take these Towns out of his Hands, but to have them in the Hands of true Friends. Then let the King of *France* keep 200000 Men in Pay, if he please.

I think, this Reason for divesting *France* of the whole *Pays Conquis* is unanswerable; for a Barrier of that Strength is a sufficient Security, and less than that would not be a sufficient Security to the *English* and *Dutch*. Then you have the *French* at a due Distance, and we can never be surprized by them; *Flanders* will be a Wall of Brass, which he can never break through, till the *English* and *Dutch* may have sufficient Time to arm for their Defence——— *Naples* and *Sicily* are Trifles to these——— And therefore I still say, the Word *Spanish Monarchy* must be explain'd to mean as it was at the *Pyrenean* Treaty, or else you must have the *Low Countries*, with *Burgundy* and the *Franche Comte* out of the Hands of the *French*, whatever Equivalent you yield for them——— And this is what I mean by Abatements, which I hope, no Body can object against.

Some People are very busie to fright us again with a Notion of the *French* arming for a new Invasion, and I was once a Mind to mention something of it in these Papers; but when I lately saw an Account of the Forwardness our Fleet was in, and that we had